

worker's state cannot and does not pursue an imperialist course, with information on how democracy works in the Socialist Soviet Union, with data on the role and function of the trade unions, and with facts on the constantly improving living conditions of the Soviet people.

GREETINGS FROM BROTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extends fraternal greetings to the 15th Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. We wish the Communist Party of the U.S.A. successes in its struggle against reaction, for the vital interests and rights of the working class and all toilers of the United States of America, for the ideological strengthening of the Party ranks, for lasting peace between the peoples.

May the international solidarity of the toilers in the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism gather strength.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of the United States and of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Communist Party of the United States!
Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

American Communists, and all persons, who oppose the aggressive policy of American imperialism and the rule of fascist terror, are now uniting in joint resistance against savage oppression and are striving to unite and educate the broad masses.

Central Committee, Communist Party of China

We are certain that the decisions of your Convention, taken in the light of the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, will enable you to advance forward on the road of

unity of action of the working class, unity of all progressive Americans, of all supporters of peace, without distinction of race, color or beliefs, so that the cause of liberty will triumph.

Central Committee, Communist Party of France
Jacques Duclos

Your successes are our successes.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Italy
Luigi Longo

We know your struggle is difficult, but together with you, 800 million people led by the invincible Soviet Union, defend peace and liberty.

Central Committee, Hungarian Working People's Party

In spite of frantic reaction your Party will raise still higher the immortal banner of Marxism-Leninism and will honorably fulfill its patriotic and internationalist duty, standing in the foremost ranks of the workers of the peace movement which is growing stronger every day in your country and which can and should wrench the torch of war from the world incendiaries.

Central Committee, Polish United Workers Party

Our people are convinced that in spite of the hysterical threats of Truman and Attlee, in spite of the extraordinary situation which the imperialists create in their countries and in their satellites by the preparation of war, the fight of the millions of common people for peace and democracy, in-

spired by the peace-loving Soviet Union and the great Stalin, will win.

Long live the American Communist Party!

Long live the powerful front of the partisans of peace headed by the Soviet Union and the great Stalin!

Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party
V. Chervenkov, Secretary General

Your fight, dear comrades, is our fight, just as the struggle of the German friends of democracy and peace is your struggle.

Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl

The invincible peace camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union and the great Stalin, defends the happiness of all peoples. You have a decisive place in the camp of peace.

Executive Committee
Communist Party of Western Germany

We feel closely bound up with your struggles not only because we pursue the same aims but also because we face the same enemy, American imperialism.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Austria
J. Koplenig

We express our solidarity with you in our common struggle against Anglo-American imperialism, and we are convinced that our two peoples will fulfill their great and his-

toric task of putting an end to the crimes now being committed in their name, and thus ensure lasting peace.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain
Harry Pollitt, General Secretary

Headed by the mighty Socialist Soviet Union and our friend and teacher Joseph Stalin, the world camp of peace is going forward to win, to prevent a third world war, to turn the world towards peace. We are certain that our comrades of the heroic Communist Party of the United States will not be found wanting.

Labor-Progressive Party of Canada
Tim Buck, General Secretary

The Mexican Communist Party sends fraternal greetings to the National Convention of your Party and wishes you success in your deliberations, in the certainty that your decisions will victoriously guide the American people in their determined struggle for the defense of the cause of peace and Socialism so brilliantly led by Comrade Stalin.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Mexico
Dionisio Engina, Secretary General

United by proletarian internationalism under the banner of the great Stalin, we will march victoriously on the road to peace and Socialism.

Communist Party of Brazil
Luis Carlos Prestes

We know of the monstrous persecutions and slanders by which the hysterical atomic warmakers have victimized you, but we are firmly convinced that you, the Communist Party of the U.S.A., will know how to overcome all difficulties and

defeat all attacks and that you will fulfill the great task of world significance)

Popular Socialist Party of Cuba
 Juan Marinello, President
 Blas Roca, General Secretary

Your invitation confirms that proletarian internationalism, in spite of hate, persecution and terror, is a living reality.

Our fight for peace, independence and freedom is directed against the same enemy as you fight.

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Central Committee, Communist Party of Denmark

With revolutionary greetings,

P. B. Central Committee, Communist Party of India

We pledge our maximum contribution to the peace movement headed by the Soviet Union.

Vittorio Vidali, Secretary
 Communist Party of the Free Territory of Trieste

Long live the solidarity of the working people in the whole world for peace, democracy and Socialism, for the triumph of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Dushko Novacov, Chief Editor of the newspaper,
 Pod Zastavom Internacionalizma

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

Elected at the 15th National Convention

December 28-31, 1950

William Z. Foster, National Chairman; Eugene Dennis, General Secretary; Gus Hall, National Secretary; Henry Winston, Organization Secretary; John Williamson, Labor Secretary; Benjamin J. Davis; John Gates; Irving Potash; Robert Thompson; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; Gilbert Green; Jack Stachel; Carl Winter; Alternate Members of the National Committee: Archie Brown, Fred Fine, Claudia Jones, James Jackson, Claude Lightfoot, Pettis Perry, William Schneiderman, Sid Stein, Martha Stone.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 377

PEACE CAN BE WON!

REPORT TO THE 15TH CONVENTION, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

By Gus Hall

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

II. THE REALITY OF THE WORLD TODAY

THE GREAT SOCIALIST STATE

The strength and invincibility of the world peace camp are best exemplified by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has just celebrated its 33rd birthday. It stands proudly among the nations of the earth. Each day it gives glowing and irrefutable proof that a working class in power, a Socialist state, advances civilization to a new and higher stage.

This most democratic of all powers has completed its first postwar Five-Year Plan. The main objectives of this plan were to rebuild the war-ravaged areas of the country, to re-

store the prewar levels of industry and agriculture and to surpass those levels. The Soviet people proudly announce that they have achieved these objectives—and more.

In accord with its basic Stalinist policy of peace, the Soviet Union has put forward practical peace proposals at each turn of events. Thus it was the Soviet Union that advanced the proposal for outlawing the atom bomb through international agreement and inspection, and the proposal for universal reduction in armaments. At every stage of the war in Korea, the U.S.S.R. has put forward new and practical peace proposals. Only recently, Andrei Vishinsky, speaking for the Soviet Union in the United Nations, again proposed a real cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

The working classes of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania, defeated all attempts by the imperialist camp to disrupt their progress. These countries are now firmly on the road to Socialism. And today, they are stout pillars in the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The rise and development of these People's Democracies, their achievements in building the foundations of a Socialist society, fully confirm Lenin's thesis that, while the transition from capitalism to Socialism will give rise to varied forms, the content will everywhere and inevitably be the dictatorship of the proletariat. Among the big obstacles to Wall Street's plans for building its main World War III base in Europe and Western Germany are the now stable German Democratic Republic, and the powerful Communist Parties of France and Italy.

VIII. POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

THE GOAL OF SOCIALISM

We know that this positive outlook is only the beginning. In our absorption in the work of the present, we must never for a moment forget our historic and ultimate goal—to put an end to this barbaric capitalist system, and build Socialism in its place.

Our confidence is firmly grounded in the world-liberating science of Marxism-Leninism. We know where we are going. We know why the American working class and people are destined to go our way. We know how to take the next steps toward a happy, democratic, and peace-loving America—toward the boundless horizons of lasting peace in a Socialist, a Communist world.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 378

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

WORKING-CLASS AND PEOPLE'S UNITY FOR PEACE!

*(Main Resolution of the 15th National Convention.
C.P.U.S.A.)*

II. THE MENACE OF FASCISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

1. The struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle for democracy, from the struggle against the growing danger of fascism.

U. S. imperialism is the most reactionary force in the world today, seeking to fascize, not only America, but every capitalist country.

The Negro people, in its fight for first-class citizenship throughout the land, forms a tremendous reservoir of strength for the whole democratic movement.

III. FOR A FIGHTING, UNITED WORKING CLASS

1. The key to changing the relationship of forces within the country in favor of peace, democracy and economic security, is to change the situation within the working class and its organized labor movement. Only to the extent that the working class begins to find the path toward class-struggle policies and labor unity can progress be made.

4. We must face the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the organized workers in the country are in the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and independent Right-led unions. It is this which must determine the main direction of all of the Party's work, and especially its trade-union and industrial concentration policy.

IV. THE NEW FEATURES OF THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Because U. S. imperialism is compelled to cloak with demagogic phrases about democracy and equality its drive for world conquest, particularly its military assault against the colonial liberation movement in Asia, the Negro question tears the mask off of Wall Street's real face and assumes the greatest international significance.

3. The beginning of the merger of the Negro liberation struggle with the world colonial upsurge is expressed in the growing moral and political unity of the colored peoples of the world against the racist, Jim-Crow policies of U. S. imperialism, the fountain head of white chauvinism; in the

joint action of the Chinese people with the Negro people against the execution of Willie McGee; and in the sharpened assault of U. S. imperialism against the colored nations of China and Korea and the oppressed Negro people in the U.S.A.

VII. THE PARTY

10. Another weakness in the work of the Party is the over-dependence on top levels of leadership, the lack of independent initiative at the lower levels of the organization. This weakness, the tendency of lower organizations to drift between central campaigns and their slowness in orienting independently on concrete problems and issues in a given local situation, must be recognized in the first place as a weakness of leadership, which has the responsibility for correcting this state of affairs.

One of the major causes for this situation is the continued existence of bureaucratic methods of work in the leadership, and the failure to educate the whole Party in the practice of criticism and self-criticism as the inner law of Party development. Thus the whole Party does not often enough participate in evaluating major developments and struggles; does not sufficiently learn from mistakes committed.

This in turn leads to many "independent" estimates which are not resolved into one single Party estimate. This tends to weaken Party discipline and the carrying out of Party decisions.

The 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., demonstrates the firm political unity of our Party. It calls upon the whole membership to guard the monolithic character and unity of our Party, based on democratic centralism. We must strive for the highest discipline arising out of conscious understanding of the Party's theory and political line. Tendencies toward factionalism are totally

impermissible and must be sharply dealt with because they weaken the Party and make it possible for the enemy more easily to penetrate its ranks.

11. The establishment of the Labor Youth League has done much to restore to the youth scene a fighting youth leadership organizing and uniting the youth against war and fascism and educating them in the spirit of Socialism. We must give every aid and support to this organization and must overcome the still-present neglect in practically all sections of our Party of this increasingly important section of the population. *Any continuation of this neglect in these circumstances of acute war and fascist danger can only have disastrous consequences and cannot be tolerated.* The Party must help build the broadest front of youth unity against the imperialist threat of a lifetime of militarism and insecurity.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 379

**THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
PEACE AND FREEDOM**

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

Report to the 15th Convention, Communist Party

NOTE TO THE READER

This pamphlet contains the full text of the report of Benjamin J. Davis, former Councilman of the City of New York and member of the Communist Party's National Committee, to the Party's 15th National Convention, held on December 28-31, 1950, in New York City.

Mr. Davis, an outstanding leader of the Negro liberation struggle in the United States and a militant fighter for peace, is one of the eleven Communist leaders convicted in the notorious Foley Square "thought control" trial, and is now free on bail while his conviction is under appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court.

I. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND ITS RELATION TO THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The indivisibility of the struggle for peace and the struggle for freedom—which takes its most basic form in our country in the battle for Negro liberation—was always of major importance.

II. THE NEW FEATURES OF THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The most important new features of the Negro liberation movement are: First, the international significance of this question, originally noted by Comrade Foster at the March plenum this year, and reflected in the present crisis in U.S. foreign policy. Second, the intensification of the pro-fascist oppression of the Negro people nationally, and in the Black Belt in particular, in consequence of U.S. monopoly's drive toward world domination, war and fascism.

V. REMARKS ON THE PARTY

Comrades, it is shocking that, in spite of the gains made in the fight against white chauvinism, primitive acts of white chauvinism can still reveal themselves even at the level of County and State Communist Party conventions. We must quickly get up off that level, for time does not wait.

Drastic discipline has to be imposed in such cases. For some of these crude cases, comrades, are astounding.

This requires in the first place the fight for the line of our Party on the Negro question as a national question, including the right of self-determination for the Negro majority in the Black Belt.

Our Party's line on the Negro question is a Leninist-Stalinist principle and method of work.

Tendencies to treat the Negro people as mere victims of oppression, without seeing their unique positive and revolutionary role in the struggle against capitalist reaction are a patronizing form of white chauvinism.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 380-A

WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

By EARL BROWDER

General Secretary, Communist Party of the U. S. A.

CHAPTER IX

THE UNITED FRONT

We must unite in defense of the Soviet Union, that bulwark of peace and socialism.

The time has come for the militant Socialists to take a clear stand on the question of the Soviet Union. A situation can develop tomorrow where the Nazis and the Japanese imperialists will simultaneously attack the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. If the Socialists adopt a position of neutrality, they will be helping the warmakers as well as giving indirect aid to the reactionaries in America, who will support this imperialist war against the Soviet Union with munitions and money, behind the smoke-screen of the slogan: Keep America Out of the War. A defeat for the Soviet Union would not merely be the defeat of the Russian workers and peasants: It would be the defeat of the workers in all countries, including the United States. It would mean the reign of capitalist reaction and barbarism for genera-

tions. That is why every anti-fascist, every Socialist, must defend the Soviet Union. Its fight is their fight. Its defense is their defense. Its victory speeds up the victory of socialism in all countries.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 380-B

THE COMMUNIST

MAY, 1936

FOR A UNITED FRONT MAY DAY!

(Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party,
U.S.A.)

*Down Tools—Demonstrate in the Streets; For the Unity of
Action by All Toilers in Defense of Their Living Standards,
Their Civil Liberties, and in Defense of Peace*

To all workers, toiling farmers, negroes, men, women, and youth:

On May First the workers of the entire world will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of that day which was born out of the struggle of the American working class for the eight-hour day. May Day is the day when the workers of the world demonstrate their international solidarity. On this day they close ranks and press forward to new struggles.

DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Let us unite with the toilers of the whole world to keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world, to save humanity from the horrors of a new world slaughter. Let us on May First, the traditional day of socialism, pledge ourselves to defend the only country of socialism—the Soviet Union.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 380-C

Daily Worker, January 14, 1936

UNITY OF ACTION NEEDED TO DISPEL GATHERING WAR CLOUDS
AGGRESSIVE ACTS OF JAPAN, ITALY AND GERMANY AFFECT THE
ENTIRE WORLD—FORCES FOR PEACE MUST FIGHT UNITEDLY

The American people must take other steps to meet the war danger:

(1) They must put their faith in their own *independent* struggle and answer through collective, mass refusal to ship, load or lend arms, munitions, supplies or money to any aggressor.

(2) We must support the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, if the imperialists unite in their *murder march* against the Soviet Union, we must be prepared to wage relentless struggle, using every weapon at our command *for the Defense of the Soviet Union*.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 382

Daily Worker, November 15, 1937

FOSTER AND FORD ARE CHEERED BY HUGE CROWD—GREETINGS
SENT JOSEPH STALIN—KRUMBEIN PRESIDES—CACCHIONE,
CROSBIE, BEGUN SPEAK

All the world loves a winner.

More than 20,000 people, gathered at Madison Square Garden Saturday night *prayed* that. They cheered, sang and yelled themselves hoarse as all Americans do when they see any underdog fight up a rocky road to the top.

The winner was the Soviet Union—the occasion the tribute paid by its American friends on the 20th anniversary of the victory of Socialism.

3,000 NEW MEMBERS

Great red and white signs, with letters three feet high stretched across the crowded galleries. Perfectly fitting the occasion was the one reading: "For Unity and Collaboration Between the People of the U. S. A. and the Soviet Union."

Thousands, turned away at 8 o'clock from the packed hall, braved the rain outside and cheered the speakers and unseen spectacle of which they were a part. The initiation and pledge, read by Charles Krumbein to 3,000 new members of the Communist Party, rolled out over the loud speakers in one of the most impressive ceremonies of the entire evening.

The recruits, standing proudly at attention as Krumbein read the pledge of loyalty to the Soviet Union, for a constant struggle to defeat fascism, a merciless struggle against Trotskyism and for victory of the People's Front and Socialism.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 389

Information on 1949 Dues Material

To All Party Clubs

December 21, 1948

Dear Comrades:

The new dues schedule effective January, 1949 is as follows:

1. Unemployed shall pay 10 cents a month.
2. Housewives and those earning under \$35. a week shall pay 35 cents a month.
3. Those earning between \$35. and \$60 a week shall pay \$1. a month.

4. Those earning between \$60 and \$100 a week shall pay \$2 a month.

5. Those earning over \$100 a week shall pay \$5 a month.

Enclosed is a score card which is to be used for making a record of the dues paid by each member. Your Club Financial Secretary shall be responsible to keep this record as well as handle the collection of dues, and turn the dues payments over to your Section representative.

Also, enclosed are a few dues report blanks which may be helpful in making up your report for your Section Representative.

Comradely yours,

HELEN ALLISON

Helen Allison

Organization Sec'y

Michigan Communist Party

PRELIMINARY INFORMATION REQUIRED FOR REVIEW AND DISCUSSION ON STATUS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

Please fill out all questions as completely as possible:

1. Section _____ Number of Clubs in Section _____
2. List Clubs: _____

	# of members	Shop	Check below which kind of Club it is		
			Industrial	Community	Nat'l Group
1)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 400

EMPHASIS!

BULLETIN OF THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT MICHIGAN STATE

COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

900 LAWYERS BLDG., DETROIT 26, MICH.

DISCUSSION OUTLINE

APRIL 27, 1949

THE MARXIST POSITION TOWARD WAR

I. *Imperialism and War*

II. *Marxists Hold that there are Two Kinds of War—
Just and Unjust Wars*

A. In our attitude toward war, we differ in principle from pacifists and petty bourgeois humanitarians. We support just wars and oppose unjust wars.

1—We support just wars—wars waged in defense against imperialist aggressions; wars to liberate people from enslavement; wars of colonial and dependent countries for independence. Such just wars are fundamentally in the interests of the working class and nation.

2—We oppose unjust wars; all wars for conquest and exploitation. We rally the working class and the people to fight unjust wars as destructive of the interests of the working class and the nation.

IV. *World War II was Just War*

1—The post-war world was split by the U.S. and Britain into two camps—the camp of imperialism and fascism under the leadership of American imperialism and the camp of

democracy, national freedom and peace, headed by the USSR.

• • • • •
Reading Material:

War and the Workers—VI Lenin

April Political Affairs—"Struggle for Peace" by Marvin Reiss

The North Atlantic Pact—For Peace or War?—by Abraham Chapman

History of the CPSU—Pages 160-173

The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky—VI Lenin .

The Soviet Union and World Peace—Stalin and Molotov

Notes on the National Question—Peter Wieden in Clarity
(available at the state office)

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 412

For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!

MARCH 10, 1950

ECONOMIC SUCCESSES IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

• • • • •
A comparison of the economic successes achieved by the People's Democracies in a very short period of their history with the extremely difficult position of the working people in the capitalist countries constitutes a terrible indictment of American imperialism and of the whole decaying capitalist system. It is a call rallying the working people the world over for the struggle for peace, against the imperialist criminals, for the fight for Socialism.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 416

Holiday Season Marxist Literature Sale

TO KEEP MARXISM-LENINISM FROM BEING LIQUIDATED BY
FRANCO'S PAL, McCARRAN—THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY—

FIGHT THE McCARRAN ACT

by You, Your Friends and Family

—BUYING

—READING

—CIRCULATING

MARXIST-LENINIST LITERATURE

TITLE	NO. ON HAND	REGULAR PRICE	REDUCED PRICE	MY ORDER	NET AMT. ORDER
7th World Congress by Dimitroff	4	.10	.05	_____	_____
History CPSU	13	.40	.20	_____	_____
What is To Be Done— by Lenin	8	.60	.30	_____	_____
State & Revolution— by Lenin	10	.10	.05	_____	_____
Imperialism - Lenin	2	.30	.15	_____	_____
Task of Youth— Stalin	5	.15	.05	_____	_____
Young Generation— Lenin	5	.15	.05	_____	_____
Proletarian Revolution—Lenin	1	.30	.10	_____	_____
Left-Wing Communism—Lenin	20	.25	.10	_____	_____

Problems of Lenin-

ism—Stalin

2

.25

.10

Foundations of

Leninism

6

.25

.10

Communist Mani-

festo

5

.10

.05

Mastering Bolshe-

vism—Stalin

6

.10

.05

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 417

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

BURNING QUESTIONS OF OUR MOVEMENT

By V. I. LENIN

Copyright, 1929, by

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS CO., INC.

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

What Is To Be Done? is one of Lenin's outstanding revolutionary writings. It has long been a classic in its field. The first generation of Russian Bolsheviks, which includes many of the present Soviet leaders, have been brought up on this brilliant exposition of the policies and tactics of the revolutionary Socialist movement. Its uniqueness in Russian Marxist literature is due to the way it treats the role of the Party in the revolutionary struggle—a subject to which slight attention was paid up to that time. The subtitle, "Burning Questions of Our Movement," which Lenin gave to this brochure, indicates how deeply he felt the need of calling attention to the problem of organisation.

What were these "burning questions" which Lenin, soon after his return from Siberian exile, posed and to which he gave answers, first in articles in the *Iskra* ("The Urgent

Tasks of Our Movement," December, 1900; "Where To Begin," May, 1901)* and finally developed in *What Is To Be Done?*, published in March, 1902.

Ideologically, Marxism had won a decisive victory over Populism which exercised hegemony among advanced Russian society and revolutionary intelligentsia during the seventies and eighties. In his early writings Lenin himself carried on sharp polemics against Populist and other utopian perversions of Socialism, thereby greatly contributing to the Marxist literary campaign designed to check their influence on the nascent revolutionary workers' movement.

The Marxist movement at that time suffered, however, from two basic weaknesses. The first was the tendency prevalent in a section of the movement and characterised as Economism, which maintained that the economic struggles of the workers for the improvement of their immediate working and living conditions should be the chief preoccupation of the labor movement. The struggle against tsarism, the Economists proposed to leave to the liberal bourgeoisie to whom they ascribed a monopoly in that field. Lenin and other revolutionary Socialists could not but consider such a policy as a travesty on Marxism, as a complete break with the nature and aims of the revolutionary labor movement, the very essence of which, they held, was the struggle for power. Lenin goes hammer and tongs after all those who attempt to separate the struggle against the tsarist government from that against the capitalists, and brands the pure and simple trade unionism of the Economists as thoroughly reactionary and inimical to the interests of the workers.

The second weakness which Lenin vigorously attacks in this study is the question of organisation. He raises this problem to the political importance it deserves and makes an impassioned appeal to scrap the existing form of organisation and build a theoretically sound party, revolutionary in purpose and national in scope. Although formally organised into a party a few years before (1898), the Marxist

* V. I. Lenin, *The Iskra Period*, Book I, pp. 53-58; 109-116.

movement consisted of little more than small circles, each carrying on a more or less independent existence and engaging in sporadic and planless activities. This loose aggregation of revolutionists, carrying on their work in primitive, handicraft fashion, and depending on the spontaneity of the masses, could not, according to Lenin, become the organiser and leader of the revolutionary struggles which were rapidly developing and which were involving larger and larger masses of workers. Only a centralised party, working according to a carefully prepared plan, with each member assigned a specific task for which he is to be held accountable, could successfully lead the Russian workingclass in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and tsarist rule.

"If we have a strongly organised party, a single strike may grow into a political demonstration, into a political victory over the government," Lenin wrote sometime before he began to work on *What Is To Be Done?* Obviously, the party as he conceived it, had to consist of members "who shall devote to the revolution not only their spare evenings, but the whole of their lives."

Written thirty years ago, *What Is To Be Done?* still retains its freshness because of the revolutionary enthusiasm which permeates its pages and the great lessons it has today for the workers in capitalist countries who would build their revolutionary parties after the pattern fashioned by Lenin during the formative period of the Bolshevik Party.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

December, 1931.

IV

THE PRIMITIVENESS OF THE ECONOMISTS AND THE ORGANISATION OF REVOLUTIONISTS

C. ORGANISATION OF WORKERS, AND ORGANISATION OF REVOLUTIONISTS

The workers' organisations must in the first place be trade organisations; secondly, they must be as wide as possible; and thirdly, they must be as public as conditions will allow (here, of course, I have only autocratic Russia in mind). On the other hand, the organisations of revolutionists must be comprised first and foremost of people whose profession is that of revolutionists (that is why I speak of organisations of *revolutionists*, meaning revolutionary Social-Democrats). As this is the common feature of the members of such an organisation, *all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals*, and certainly distinctions of trade and profession, must be dropped. Such an organisation must of necessity be not too extensive and as secret as possible. Let us examine this three-fold distinction.

* * * * *

The workers' organisations for carrying on the economic struggle should be trade-union organisations; every Social-Democratic worker should, as far as possible, support and actively work inside these organisations. That is true. But it would be far from being to our interest to demand that only Social-Democrats be eligible for membership in the trade unions. The only effect of this, if it were attempted, would be to restrict our influence over the masses. Let every worker who understands the necessity for organisation, in order to carry on the struggle against the employers and the government, join the trade unions. The very objects of the trade unions would be unattainable unless they united all who have attained at least this elementary level of understanding, and unless they were extremely wide organisations. The wider these organisations are, the wider our influence over them will be. They will then be influenced not only by the "spontaneous" development of the economic struggle, but also by the direct and conscious action of the Socialists on their comrades in the unions. But a wide organisation cannot be a strictly secret organisation (since the latter demands far greater training than is required for the economic struggle). How is the contradiction between

the necessity for a large membership and the necessity for strictly secret methods to be reëntiled? How are we to make the trade unions as public as possible? Generally speaking, there are perhaps only two ways to this end: Either the trade unions become legalised (which in some countries precedes the legalisation of the Socialist and political unions), or the organisation is kept a secret one, but so "free" and "loose" that the need for secret methods become almost negligible as far as the mass of the members are concerned.

Trade-union organisations may not only be of tremendous value in developing and consolidating the economic struggle, but may also become a very useful auxiliary to the political, agitational and revolutionary organisations.

I could go on analysing the rules, but I think that what has been said will suffice. A small, compact core, consisting of reliable, experienced and hardened workers, with responsible agents in the principal districts and connected by all the rules of strict secrecy with the organisations of revolutionists, can, with the wide support of the masses and without an elaborate set of rules, perform *all* the functions of a trade-union organisation, and perform them, moreover, in the manner Social-Democrats desire. Only in this way can we secure the *consolidation* and development of a *Social-Democratic* trade-union movement, in spite of the gendarmes.

"A dozen wise men can be more easily caught than a hundred fools!" This wonderful truth (which the hundred fools will applaud) appears obvious only because in the very midst of the argument you have skipped from one question to another. You began by talking, and continued to talk, of catching a "committee," of catching an "organisation," and now you skip to the question of getting hold of the "roots" of the movement in the "depths." The fact is,

of course, that our movement cannot be caught precisely because it has hundreds and hundreds of thousands of roots deep down among the masses, but that is not the point we are discussing. As far as "roots in the depths" are concerned, we cannot be "caught" even now, in spite of all our primitiveness; but, we all complain, and cannot but complain, of the ease with which the *organisations* can be caught, with the result that it is impossible to maintain continuity in the movement. If you agree to discuss the question of catching the *organisations*, and to stick to that question, then I assert that it is far more difficult to catch ten wise men than it is to catch a hundred fools.

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The centralisation of the more secret functions in an organisation of revolutionists will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and the quality of the activity of a large number of other organisations intended for wide membership and which, therefore, can be as loose and as public as possible, for example, trade unions, workers' circles for self-education, and the reading of illegal literature, and Socialist, and also democratic, circles for *all other sections of the population*, etc., etc. We must have *as large a number as possible* of such organisations having the widest possible variety of functions, but it is absurd and dangerous to *confuse these with organisations of revolutionists*, to erase the line of demarcation between them, to dim still more the already incredibly hazy appreciation by the masses that to "serve" the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to Social-Democratic activities, and that such people must *train* themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionists. ●

Aye, this consciousness has become incredibly dim. The most grievous sin we have committed in regard to organisation is that *by our primitiveness we have lowered the prestige of revolutionists in Russia*. A man who is weak and vacillating on theoretical questions, who has a narrow outlook, who makes excuses for his own slackness on the ground

that the masses are awakening spontaneously, who resembles a trade-union secretary more than a people's tribune, who is unable to conceive a broad and bold plan, who is incapable of inspiring even his enemies with respect for himself, and who is inexperienced and clumsy in his own professional art—the art of combating the political police—such a man is not a revolutionist but a hopeless amateur!

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 418

Political Affairs.

**14th NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A.**

AUGUST 2-6, 1948

SPECIAL CONVENTION ISSUE

SEPTEMBER, 1948

**FOR A FIGHTING PARTY ROOTED AMONG THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS!***

By HENRY WINSTON

THE NEED OF A POLICY OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

The central task before the Party is the fight for shifting the main base of our Party to the working class. *This cannot be done unless we turn the face of the entire Party to the workers in the factories.* There is already a new awareness in our entire Party of this urgent task. Every single state convention, and scores of comrades in the pre-Convention discussion, have given major attention to this question. We must transform this new awareness into deeds.

* The report to the Convention on the organizational and ideological tasks of the C.P.U.S.A.

HOW TO APPLY THE CONCENTRATION POLICY

What is the essence of a concentration policy?

First of all, it requires a fundamental understanding of the role of the workers in the basic industries in relation to the working class and the life of the country as a whole. It is precisely these workers employed in the huge plants by the tens of thousands who, as Lenin pointed out, become educated to understand the need for unity, collective action and solidarity by the very process of large-scale production itself. One cannot conceive of successfully building the Progressive Party, of organizing an effective fight against the Draft, or in defense of civil liberties, a successful fight against war and fascism, unless this section of the working class is fully mobilized. And, of course, one cannot speak of winning the American workers for Socialism without winning the majority of this section of the working class. It is necessary to permeate the entire Party with this consciousness.

Secondly, such a policy requires the selection of the points of concentration where a base must be secured, if we are to set in motion the entire labor movement. This means knowing which districts must be given major national attention, which industries are key and what plants are decisive.

While we must strengthen the Party in all basic industries, we must particularly select for major concentration such industries as steel, auto, mining, maritime, electrical and railroad.

We must frankly say that the failure to secure adequate results in our concentration work in the last three years is due, in the main, to an underestimation in practice of the vanguard role of the Party. In practice we concerned ourselves much more with specific policy and tactical questions of the unions, of relationship to top bodies, rather than to questions of building a base below to insure correct policies and tactics. What was incorrect? The separation of the

building of the Party from the solution of questions of policy! What must not be forgotten is that it is not enough to have a correct policy in the industries, but in addition the organized strength of the Party must be thrown into the key points of concentration. From now on a drastic change must be made. Questions of policy and tactical line must always be related to the forces required to carry out the policy. This will demand a systematic and constant political check-up of our strength in the concentration areas; first, by the political bodies of the Party; and, secondly, through greater coordination of all departments and, most important, a fusion of the work of trade-union and organizational personnel.

WHAT KIND OF PARTY ARE WE BUILDING?

There is a great stirring among the youth, who are the first to be hit by Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism. Reaction is leaving no stone unturned to win the youth for its reactionary program. There are numerous instances indicating that reactionary forces have been able to misdirect the youth (as, for instance, in some unions, in inspiring hoodlum acts, etc.), because of the absence of decisive leadership in the fight for the youth. Hence, our Party must not only considerably intensify its activity among the youth, particularly among the young workers in industry and among the youth in the Negro communities, but we must place as a central task the recruiting of substantial numbers of young Americans into our ranks in the coming months.

FOR A CONSISTENT CADRE POLICY

We do not shrink from the hammer blows of reaction. Under them we will steel our Party in Communist discipline, loyalty, and unity, develop its Marxist-Leninist understand-

ing, and temper our cadres and leadership. Sharing the hardships and struggles of America's working people, we will root our Party ever deeper in the American working-class soil from which it sprang.

As the vanguard Party of the American working class we take our place in the front line of battle, conscious of our responsibility to all Americans who struggle for peace, democracy, economic security, and social progress. We hold aloft the banner of our conviction that the American working people have the capacity, means, and allies to curb and defeat the fascists and warmongers, and, eventually, to advance toward the Socialist reorganization of society, which will forever end the dangers of fascism, crises, and war—the misery of exploitation and oppression. We face the oncoming struggles with confidence in our people, our class, and our Party.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 419.

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
575 Ave. of Americas
Watkins 9-1600

MARXISM V. *The Struggle For Socialism.*

SESSION I. *Contradictions of Imperialism.*

READINGS: *Theory of the Proletarian Revolution*, pp. 21-33; Lenin, *Imperialism*, Ch. IX; Foster, "Specific Features of American Imperialist Expansion," *Political Affairs*, August, 1948.

OUTLINE: Imperialism as moribund capitalism. Intensification of all capitalist contradictions. The three dominant contradictions in the epoch of imperialism; the contradiction between labor and capital; the contradiction among the imperialist powers; the contradiction between the imperialists and the colonial peoples. The "eve of the proletarian revolution." Struggle against reformist theories: "ultra-imperialism," "progressive capitalism," etc.

SESSION II. Uneven Development of capitalism and the "Weakest link in the imperialist chain."

READINGS: *Theory of the Proletarian Revolution*, pp. 66-76; Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, pp. 34 (bottom), 38 (top); Zhdanov, *The International Situation*, pp. 7-16.

OUTLINE: Meaning of the law of the uneven development of capitalism; spasmodic development of some countries; rapid squeezing out of others; periodic repartition of already divided world by imperialist wars; weakening of world front of imperialism; possibility of establishment of socialism in separate countries. Why the "imperialist chain" broke first in Russia. Why it broke in eastern Europe after World War II. Significance of the struggle in China. Law of uneven development in the world today.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 420

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
575 Ave. of America
Watkins 9-1600

81. MARXISM AND LABOR

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***SESSION 4—Trade Unions and the Fight for Socialism.**

READINGS: Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*, pp. 56-62; Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, pp. 106-114.

SUPPLEMENTARY: Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" (in *Selected Works*, pp. 45-50; in Little Lenin Library ed., pp. 26-30).

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 421

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

JULY, 1950

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FOR A UNITED-FRONT POLICY AMONG THE JEWISH PEOPLE—
SHARPEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM*

By John Williamson

All the leading comrades in Jewish work, including those that have participated in our meetings, have expressed full support of the Party line of exposure and struggle against American imperialism and its policies of world domination, war and fascist reaction; of our line for organizing a broad united-front of the American people for peace, against fascism, for curbing the trusts, and for achieving American-Soviet friendship.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

While developing this educational campaign, we must make it clear that agreement on the Soviet Union's Socialist solution of the Jewish question is not a prerequisite for any group of Jewish workers or other taking joint action with us on the burning issues confronting the Jewish people here in the United States. In fact, because we live in capitalist America, we must emphasize the fight for peace and against fascist reaction, as it relates to the Jewish masses in the U.S.A. and to Israel as a state. Regardless of differences on other questions, we should develop a broad protest campaign against the restoration of the Nazis to posts of government in Germany and demand real denazification in Germany; we must especially develop in our country the broadest struggle against anti-Semitism in all its manifestations.

SECTARIANISM: MAIN BARRIER TO JEWISH WORKING MASSES

Traditionally, Social-Democracy has been and is a main instrument of the imperialist bourgeoisie utilized among

* A Report, slightly abridged, delivered on May 3, 1950, in behalf of the National Committee, at a conference of leading comrades engaged in activity among the Jewish people.

the Jewish workers and trade unionists to confuse, divide and mislead. Today, the Dubinsky-Forward Social-Democratic group are the most vicious anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist forces among the Jewish workers. There is a growing collaboration between these Social-Democratic labor leaders and the various bourgeois-nationalist organizations, such as the Zionists.

The defeat and isolation of the reactionary Jewish Social-Democrats among the workers and in the trade unions is an indispensable task in making it possible for the Jewish workers to lead the Jewish people in struggle. While effective propaganda and agitation are a necessary part of this task, the decisive thing is to develop joint struggles of Jewish workers, irrespective of what trade unions they belong to, on the burning issues of the day.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 422

THE THEORY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

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6. The Victory of the Revolution in One Country as an Aid and Instrument for Accelerating the Victory of the Proletariat in All Countries.

Most probably, the world revolution will develop along the line of a series of new countries dropping out of the system of the imperialist countries as a result of revolution, while the proletarians of these countries will be supported by the proletariat of the imperialist states. We see that the first country to break away, the first country to win, is already supported by the workers and toiling masses of

other countries. Without this support it could not maintain itself. Beyond a doubt, this support will grow and become stronger and stronger. But it is likewise beyond a doubt that the very development of the world revolution, the very process of the breaking away of a number of new countries from imperialism, will be more rapid and more thorough, the more thoroughly socialism fortifies itself in the first victorious country, the faster this country is transformed into the basis for the further unfolding of the world revolution, into the lever for the further disintegration of imperialism.

If the postulate that the *final* victory of socialism in the first country to emancipate itself is impossible without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several countries is true, then it is just as true that the world revolution will develop the more rapidly and thoroughly, the more effective the assistance rendered by the first socialist country to the workers and toiling masses of all other countries will be.

By what should this assistance be expressed?

It should be expressed, first, by the victorious country achieving "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and stirring up of the revolution *in all countries*." (*Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*, Chap. VII, "What Is Internationalism?")

Second, it should be expressed by the "victorious proletariat" of one country, "after it has expropriated the capitalists and organized its socialist production at home, rising . . . against the rest of the capitalist world, attracting to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raising insurrection in them against the capitalists, acting in case of need even with military force against the exploiting classes and their states." ("The United States of Europe Slogan," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII.)

The characteristic feature of the assistance given by the victorious country is that it not only hastens the victory of the proletarians of other countries, but likewise guarantees, by facilitating this victory, the *final* victory of socialism in the first victorious country:

The most probable thing is that, side by side with the centers of imperialism in separate capitalist countries and in the systems of these countries throughout the world, centers of socialism will be created, in the course of the world revolution, in separate soviet countries and systems of these centers throughout the world, and the struggle between these two systems will constitute the history of the development of the revolution:

For—says Lenin—the free amalgamation of nations in socialism is impossible without a more or less prolonged and stubborn struggle by the socialist republics against the backward states.—(Ibid.)

The world significance of the October Revolution lies not only in its constituting a start made by one country in the work of breaking through the system of imperialism and the creation of the first land of socialism in the ocean of imperialist countries, but likewise in its constituting the first stage in the world revolution and a mighty basis for its further development.

Therefore, those who, forgetting the international character of the October Revolution, declare the victory of socialism in one country to be purely national and only a national phenomenon, are wrong. And those too who, although bearing in mind the international character of the October Revolution, are inclined to regard this revolution as something passive, merely destined to accept help from without, are equally wrong. As a matter of fact not only does the October Revolution need support from the revolutionary movement of other countries, but revolution in those countries needs the support of the October Revolution in order to accelerate and advance the cause of overthrowing world imperialism.

Joseph Stalin, "The Tactics of the Russian Communists," *The October Revolution*, pp. 122-129.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

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2. Three Main Aspects of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

A. Stalin on the Main Tasks of the Proletarian Revolution and the Three Aspects of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

There still remained (says Lenin) two tasks of enormous difficulty, the solution of which could, under no circumstances, be the same triumphal procession that our revolution was. . . . (*Ibid.*)

The second enormous difficulty was . . . the international question. If we were able to cope so easily with Kerensky's bands, if we so easily established our power, if the decree on the socialization of the land, and on workers' control, was secured without the slightest difficulty—if we obtained all this so easily it was only because for a brief space of time a fortunate combination of circumstances protected us from international imperialism. International imperialism, with all the might of its capital and its highly organized military technique, which represents a real force, a real fortress of international capital, could under no circumstances, under no possible conditions, live side by side with the Soviet republic, both because of its objective situation and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class which was incorporated in it, could not do this because of commercial ties and of international financial relationships.

A conflict is inevitable. This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem: the necessity to solve international problems, the necessity to call forth the world revolution. (*Ibid.*, p. 317.)

Such is the inner character and the basic idea of the proletarian revolution.

Can such a radical transformation of the old bourgeois system of society be achieved without a violent revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the domination of the bourgeoisie, means one of two things. It means either madness, and the loss of normal human understanding, or else an open and gross repudiation of the proletarian revolution. . .

Pointing to one of the most important aims of the dictatorship, namely, the suppression of the exploiters, Lenin states:

The scientific concept, dictatorship, means nothing more nor less than power that directly rests on violence, that is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules. . . . Dictatorship means—note this once and for all, Messrs. Cadets*—unlimited power, resting on violence and not on law. During civil war, victorious power can only be dictatorship. (*Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. XXV, pp. 436 and 444.)

But, of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not merely mean violence, although there is no dictatorship without violence.

Dictatorship (says Lenin) does not mean violence alone, although it is impossible without violence. It likewise signifies a higher organization of labor than that which previously existed. (*Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 305.)

The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . is not merely the use of violence against the exploiters, and is not even main-

* The Constitutional Democrats.—Ed.

ly the use of violence. The economic basis of this revolutionary violence, the guarantee of its vitality and success, is that the proletariat represents and introduces a higher type of social organization of labor compared with capitalism. That is the essential point. This is the source of the strength of Communism and the guarantee of its inevitable complete victory. (*Ibid.*, p. 335.)

Its quintessence (*i.e.*, of the dictatorship—*J. S.*) lies in the organization and discipline of the advanced detachment of the toilers, of its vanguard, its sole leader, the proletariat. Its aim is to establish socialism, to put an end to the division of society into classes, to make all members of society toilers, to remove the soil for the exploitation of man by man.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 424

STUDY OUTLINES—MARXIST INSTITUTE, 1949

SESSION 5—CLASS STRUGGLE

II. The role of Trade Unions in class struggle

a. Basically primitive form of organization concerned with improvement of sale of labor power.

b. Primitive organs of collective action and class solidarity for mutual protection against oppression.

c. Limitations of trade union struggle—improvement of conditions under capitalism—check and hold back unlimited exploitation.

d. Limitations of "trade union politics"—economism.

Required Reading:

V. I. Lenin—*What is to be Done*—Chapter III—39 pages
(Note: In reading substitute word Communist for Social-Democrat. When book was written, Social-Democratic movement was only working class party at time.)

SESSION SEVEN—THE THEORY OF THE STATE

I. The State following the Socialist Revolution

1. Historical necessity for dictatorship of proletariat.

a) Dictatorship of proletariat is the state during the transition period between capitalism and socialism.

b) Necessity of transition period from capitalism to communism.

c) Task of dictatorship of proletariat is destruction of capitalism and organization of socialism.

2. Dictatorship of the proletariat is a new type of state, a new type of democracy.

a) Dictatorship of the proletariat a special type of class alliance—the rule of the working class in alliance with the peasantry.

—An instrument of the working class and all toilers—the overwhelming majority of the population—to protect and defend the interests of the people.

b) Democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat—democracy of the exploited majority with restriction of rights of the exploiting minority.

c) Role of proletarian dictatorship is abolition of classes and building classless society.

3. "Withering away" of socialist state with abolition of classes.

a) Historical pre-conditions for the withering away of the state.

b) Modification of this concept with respect to victory of socialism in one country surrounded by hostile capitalist world.

4. The Soviets as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

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Required Reading:

Stalin—*Foundations of Leninism*—pp. 44-53

Stalin—*From Socialism to Communism*—pp. 49-60

Bierut—*Ideological Basis of the United Workers Party*

of Poland—March, 1949 Political Affairs, pp. 58-70

Foster—*American Trade Unionism*—pp. 50-54

SESSION 9—THE NATURE OF SOCIALISM

III. International significance of victory of socialism in Soviet Union

1. First break in world-imperialist chain; split world economy into two systems.
2. Cornerstone of democratic, peace loving forces throughout the world.
3. Possibility of peaceful co-existence of two systems.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 425

IMPERIALISM

SESSION I: DEVELOPMENT OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, FINANCE CAPITAL AND FINANCIAL OLIGARCHY.

Required Reading:

V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism*, Chapters 1, 2 and 3. "*The Economic Crisis and the Cold War*," Communication from Wm. Z. Foster, Chapter IV.

IMPERIALISM

SESSION IV: IMPERIALISM, THE EVE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION THE UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM AND THE "WEAKEST LINK IN THE IMPERIALIST CHAIN"

I. "Imperialism is the Eve of the Socialist Revolution"
—(Lenin)

III. Establishment of Socialism at Point Where Chain of Imperialism is Weakest

C. Effect of break-through in Russia:

1. World split into two systems—imperialist and socialist systems.

2. The weakening of the imperialist sector, the start of the general crisis of capitalism:

a) Elimination of $\frac{1}{6}$ of globe from sphere of capitalist exploitation sharpens contradictions in rest of capitalist world.

b) Existence of Soviet Union demonstrates to the working people the path toward emancipation.

c) Influences struggles of colonial and dependent peoples for national liberation.

Required Reading:

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, Chapter 3.

Foster, *In Defense Twelve Communist Leaders*, Section 3.

Eaton, *Political Economy*, pp. 151-154; 203-204.

Supplementary Readings

Stalin, *Theory of Proletarian Revolution*

Mao-Tse Tung, "The Chinese Revolution," (mimeographed pamphlet)

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 427

STUDY OUTLINES—MARXIST INSTITUTE, 1949

PART II

IMPERIALISM

SESSION I—THE MONOPOLY STAGE OF CAPITALISM

I. Imperialism as defined by Lenin is characterized by

(a) concentration of industry and banking (b) dominance of finance capital (c) vast export of capital (d) participa-

tion in economic division of the world and (e) territorial division of world. (See *Lenin's Imperialism*, Chapter 7)

IV. Factors Behind American Imperialist Expansion Today:

A. Tremendous expansion of American industry during World War II—piling up of huge surplus capital, forces U. S. toward drive to control world markets and dispose of surplus production and idle capital.

B. Fear of economic crises leads to huge military expenditures to bolster economy, with resulting foreign policy.

C. Weakness of anti-imperialist united front in U. S. and corruption of top circles of labor leaders (AFL and CIO) who support imperialist drive.

D. In addition to economic drive, U.S. imperialist expansion aims at arresting rising Socialist strength and suppressing Soviet Union and democratic, working-class movements throughout world. Inability to achieve this by "atom-bomb diplomacy" and other means, adds to imperialist desperation and increased pressure for World War III.

E. Weakened capitalist competitors (Great Britain, France) gives U. S. opportunity to "take over" markets and economically and politically dominate all other capitalist countries.

Required Reading:

Foundations of Leninism by Stalin—Introduction and Chapter 4.

Wm. Z. Foster article in *August, 1948, Political Affairs*, "Specific Features of American Imperialism."

SESSION 2—FASCISM

I. Class Character of Fascism:

A. Definition

1. "Fascism is the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic

elements of finance capital."—Dimitrov, "*United Front Against Fascism*," page 7.

Required Reading:

Dimitrov, *Report to 7th World Congress*, CI, Pages 5-23, 23-43.

Foster article, *Political Affairs*, August 1948, on Specific Features of American Imperialism. (Fascism section).

SESSION 3—ERA OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

III. The struggle for socialism in the present period:
(Quotes from Wm. Z. Foster, in Party brief for New York trial)

A. New factors to be evaluated in present period:

1. Changed relationship of forces on world scale and role of Soviet Union.
2. United front struggle against fascism.
3. Development of the united and people's front governments.

SESSION 9—STRATEGY AND TACTICS

III. Tactics of Seventh World Congress, Communist International (1935)

A. Deepening of general crisis of capitalism and growth of fascism on one hand, and beginnings of broad anti-fascist movements on the other hand in certain countries such as France, resulted in development of new tactical orientation:

1. To direct main blows and concentrate all forces for struggle against the main enemy of humanity, fascism.
2. Tasks of working-class assume new character—forms of united front and people's front develop.
 - a. To develop united front—unity of working-class—labor unity.

b. To develop people's front—unity of broad coalition of all opponents of fascism and reaction.

3. To develop on an international scale, world-wide peace movement against menace of fascist aggression and war, with U.S.S.R. in leadership.

B. Examples of tactical line in operation:

—Election of people's front governments in France and Spain in 1936.

—Collective security policy advocated by Soviet Union during 1930's.

—World War II actually fought out on basis of fundamental anti-fascist unity line of 7th World Congress.

—After WW II election of national unity coalition governments in Europe.

—Development of coalition people's governments in Eastern Europe into New Democracies traveling "new route to Socialism."

—Formation of United Nations, World Federation, of Trade Unions, other international peace moves in the period following end of World War II.

IV. Strategy and Tactics in Present Period:

A. Strategic objective remains the same—abolition of capitalism and achievement of socialism.

B. Tactical line of united front and people's coalition developed still further in this period.

New factors in situation:

—world split into two camps—imperialist and democratic.

—capitalists, with backing of Wall Street undertaking reactionary offensive against all working-class movements.

—danger of war from American imperialist expansion drive.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 428

YOUR LEGAL RIGHTS

Violations of civil rights by police, prosecutors and legislative committees are on the increase. Racial and political

minorities, non-citizens and trade unionists are the main victims. The CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS exists to protect you against such attacks. Call us when you have civil rights troubles, for bail, for legal assistance.

ARREST

1. If a policeman arrests you, go along, but insist on knowing what the arrest is for. Make a note of his name or number.

2. GIVE NO STATEMENT, WRITTEN OR ORAL, TO ANYONE—POLICEMAN, DISTRICT ATTORNEY, OR INVESTIGATOR.

3. When you get to the police station, find out the charge against you. Call your family, your lawyer, or CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS for bail. The police are required to let you telephone, or to send an officer for an attorney at your request.

IN COURT

1. You have the right to be brought before a judge at the earliest possible time. If arrested at night, this means the next morning.

2. If you have not yet seen an attorney, you have a right to a delay of the court hearing in order to get an attorney.

3. If the judge refuses to grant a delay, or you cannot reach an attorney, plead "Not Guilty" and demand a jury trial.

SUBPOENAS

When you receive a subpoena, no matter what time it orders you to appear, you have a right to consult a lawyer or CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS before appearing. It is best to do so.

AT HOME

Don't let any officer or investigator into your home unless he has a search warrant. They have been known to "plant" things to be used against you.

DEPORTATION

If a **DEPORTATION WARRANT IS SERVED ON YOU**, say nothing, no matter what arguments or promises are used. **GET A LAWYER AND BAIL.**

IF THE F.B.I. COMES

Don't let F.B.I. men in your door, nor talk with them. They usually travel in pairs, are polite, and "just want to talk with you." Their real purpose is to make a stool-pigeon of you against your family, friends, neighbors, or union brothers. **DON'T TALK WITH THEM.**

*Keep this card in your purse. Get in touch with
Civil Rights Congress.*

EAST BAY CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

263 - 12th Street

Oakland, California • GLencourt 2-3663

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 430

English Edition

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

8TH AUGUST, 1935

**THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL**

(Full Report)

• • • • •
TO COMRADE STALIN, LEADER, TEACHER, AND FRIEND OF THE
PROLETARIAT AND OPPRESSED OF THE WHOLE WORLD

In the name of millions of fighters of the world proletarian revolution, in the name of the toilers of all lands, we address ourselves to you. Comrade Stalin, *our leader*, faithful continuer of the work of *Marr, Engels and Lenin*, to you who, together with Lenin, forged out a party of a new type, the Party of the Bolsheviks, the Party which led to the triumph of the great October proletarian Revolution, *to the*

victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. We address ourselves to you, beloved leader of the whole international proletariat and of all the oppressed, with warmest greetings.

More than ten years have passed since the day when we lost *Lenin*, this giant of revolutionary thought and action, the unforgettable leader of the world revolution. A gigantic task fell to you, Comrade Stalin—to take your place at the helm of the struggle for the liberation of the whole of toiling humanity.

Under your leadership Socialism has triumphed in the U.S.S.R., creating an impregnable basis for the cause of the world proletarian revolution. At the tomb of *Lenin*, you took an oath to consolidate and extend the alliance of the toilers of the whole world—the *Communist International*—and the Communists of all countries, in an heroic struggle under your leadership, are fulfilling this oath.

Now, when the capitalist world is entering a new cycle of revolutions and wars, the proletariat, in contradistinction to its situation in the first cycle of revolutions and wars, possesses the surest guarantee of definite victory—the powerful Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the country of victorious Socialism and the Communist International, the monolithic world party of Communism.

Under your leadership, the U.S.S.R. has become an impregnable stronghold of the Socialist Revolution, a stronghold of the fight against fascism and reaction, against war. Let the bourgeois gentlemen attempt to-day to ask the people of the world if they want peace or war, fascism or socialism. The peoples of the world do not want war, do not want fascism. They are turning more and more towards the U.S.S.R., fixing on you, Comrade Stalin, the leader of the toilers in all countries, a gaze full of hope and love.

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has strengthened the authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the eyes of millions of toilers, has given a tremendous force to the programme, the strategy and the tactics of the Commu-

nist International. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. opens up a new phase in the world proletarian revolution.

Our heroic fighters in Germany, in China, in Japan, in Spain, in Poland, in Italy and in other countries, are leading the masses to the struggle, with your name, Comrade Stalin, in their hearts.

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the great victory of Communism over reformism, or the Communist International over the collapsing Second International.

You have taught us and are teaching us that a policy based on principles is the only correct policy. Thanks to its unswerving application of Bolshevik policy the Communist International has achieved wonderful unity and firmness in its ranks. Comrade Stalin, in your struggle against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites-Zinovievites, in the struggle against the Right and "Left" opportunists, you have defended the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and have developed this doctrine under the conditions of the new phase of the world revolution which will live in history as the epoch of Stalin.

You have taught and are teaching us Communists the Bolshevik art of uniting unshakable fidelity to principles with closest contact with the masses, irreconcilable revolutionary spirit, and the necessary flexibility and ability to manoeuvre.

Following your teachings, the Communist Parties will consolidate their connections on all sides with the masses, they will rouse and lead the millions of toilers, will organise a wide united proletarian front, will weld together the people's front against fascism and war, the front of imperialist struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The 7th World Congress of the Communist International, in the name of 65 Communist Parties, assures you, Comrade Stalin, that the Communists will always and everywhere be faithful to the end to *the great and invincible ban-*

ner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Under this banner Communism will triumph throughout the world.

—VII. World Congress of the Communist International.

(Tremendous Applause. The delegates raise cheers for Comrade Stalin. Thereupon the Session was closed.)

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 432

"English Editor"

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

No. 42

THE CONCLUSION OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE
—COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Leading Article in "Pravda," August 21, 1935.)

The Congress took place under the sign of proletarian unity in the struggle against fascism and against the menace of imperialist war. It laid the basis for such a far reaching mobilisation of the forces of all toilers for the struggle against capitalism as has never existed in the history of the working-class struggle. The Congress decided upon a turn in the tactics of the Communist International, and was a Congress of genuine Bolshevik self-criticism and of strengthening of the leadership of the Communist International and its sections. Finally, the Congress demonstrated the triumph of unity between the proletariat of the land of victorious socialism, the *Soviet Union*, and the proletariat of the capitalist world which is fighting for its liberation.

The enthusiastic welcome with which the Congress greeted the report of Comrade *Manuilsky* upon the triumphs of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, which have been accomplished under the leadership of Comrade *Stalin*, leader of our peoples, expressed love and sympathy which

animates the workers of the world towards the Soviet land, the fatherland of the International proletariat.

The sections of the Comintern have grown and become stronger. Since the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, the membership of the Communist World Party has increased from 1,676,000 to 3,148,000, of which, despite repression and bloody terror, the numbers in the capitalist countries have grown from 445,300 to 758,500. The number of parties affiliated to the Comintern has grown, since the last Congress, from 65 to 76. The total membership of the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues (including the C.P.S.U. and the Y.C.L.S.U.) was 3,835,000 at the Sixth Congress, and is 6,800,000 at the Seventh.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern has performed a mighty task. Its decisions will serve as guiding star in the forthcoming struggles of the working class who, under the leadership of the Communist International, will sweep fascism and capitalism off the face of the earth.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 433

THE COMMUNIST

FEBRUARY, 1944

**DECISIONS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY**

**UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED ON JANUARY 9, 1944, AT THE FINAL
SESSION OF ITS PLENARY MEETING**

3. The National Committee elects a Communist National Election and Political Action Committee. This committee shall be: Earl Browder, Chairman; Eugene Dennis, Secre-

tary; William Z. Foster, Robert Minor, James W. Ford, Roy Hudson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Gilbert Green, John Williamson, Morris Childs, William Schneiderman, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Peter Cacchione, Arnold Johnson and Alice Burke.

(a) The Executive Committee of the National Election and Political Action Committee shall be: Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis, Gilbert Green, Morris Childs, William Schneiderman. The National Election and Political Action Committee is empowered to enlarge the committee with additional members.

4. The National Committee appoints the following committee to help develop special activities and a publishing program, and generally to guide the preparations for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of the American Communist Party: William Z. Foster, Chairman; Robert Minor, Secretary; James W. Ford, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Israel Amter, Rose Wortis, Ray Hansbrough, Steve Nelson, Max Weiss, Louis Todd, Sam Don, A. Trachtenberg, A. Landy, John Williamson, Mother Bloor, Anita Whitney, Charles Krumbein, Rob Hall, Pettis Perry, A. Wagenknecht, V. J. Jerome.

5. The National Committee sends warm fraternal greetings to the *Daily Worker* on the occasion of its Twentieth Anniversary. It directs the Political Committee and the State Committees to work out ways and means immediately to help extend the circulation and influence of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*—these invaluable instruments of Marxist working class education and organization which consistently champion the vital interests of labor, the people and the nation.

THE COMMUNIST

MAY 1940

THE BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
UNITED STATES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST
WAR

By GENE DENNIS

The Communist Party alone of all American political parties and labor organizations was the first to analyze the imperialist character of the war. We were the first to proclaim that the war is a predatory and unjust war between rival imperialist powers for a new redivision of the earth, for world domination—that it is a war which the working class and toiling people should not and cannot support.

In line with this we have exposed and are organizing the working people to resist firmly the policies of the economic royalists and the government which are promoting America's entry into the war on the side of the Anglo-French imperialists, under conditions and at a time most favorable to the American bourgeoisie, and which include as a central objective the organization of a new anti-Soviet war front and the transformation of the imperialist war into a united imperialist military crusade against the U.S.S.R.

In accordance with this fundamentally changed situation, our Party effected a tactical reorientation in order that the working class, including its Communist vanguard, could solve the new tasks placed before it. Here the central question was and is that of uniting the working class and its allies, the toiling farmers and exploited city middle class,

under proletarian leadership, against the imperialist war, reaction and capitalist exploitation. That is why our Party brought forward the need of, and is waging today a consistent struggle for, forging working class unity and a broad people's front movement *in a new way*. For today, the united proletarian front can only be achieved successfully if working class unity is built *primarily from below*, on a class struggle basis, and is consistently directed against the imperialist war and capitalist reaction, against the bourgeoisie *and* against the agents of and capitulators to imperialism *within* the labor movement. This requires in the first place, as emphasized by our Party, a sharper and more resolute struggle against the leaders, ideology and influence of Social-Democratism within the ranks of labor.

Moreover, our Party, on the whole, is meeting the sharpening attacks on its rights and legality, firmly and courageously, with the entire Party from top to bottom united around its national leadership and the Communist International more solidly and staunchly than ever before.

III

What is needed to ensure the further and most rapid Bolshevikization of our Party? This is to master completely the principles of Marxism-Leninism which have exercised and played the guiding role in the development and growing political maturity of our Party. These are the principles which characterize the history and work of the glorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin and are set forth by Comrade Stalin in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. These are the principles outlined by Stalin in *Pravda** in 1925 in an article dealing with Bolshevikization. In this article, Stalin emphasized the following "basic condi-

* Quoted by Georgi Dimitroff in *The Communist International*, No. 1, 1940, p. 18.

tions without which the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties is impossible in general”:

“7. The Party must be able in its work to combine an irreconcilable revolutionary spirit (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with the maximum flexibility and maneuvering ability (not to be confused with opportunism!), without which it is impossible for the Party to master all forms of struggle and organization, to link up the day-to-day interests of the proletariat with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine the legal struggle with the illegal struggle.”

This signifies that every Party organization should strive to link up more effectively its everyday mass work in defense of the immediate economic and political demands of the workers and toilers with the broadest propaganda and mass education for our socialist aims and principles. This requires that the entire Party, in carrying out its policies and tactics, should stubbornly combat all Right and “Left” opportunist tendencies and mistakes, and should learn how to apply in all spheres of its mass activity the adherence to principles and the tactical skill in maneuvering, such as our comrades have displayed in connection with the recent developments in the broad youth movement. This further necessitates a more flexible approach and sustained attention to the problems of readjusting the organizational forms and methods of work of the Party to the changing situation, to utilizing and exploring every medium and opportunity in the localities, states, and nationally for helping advance the movement for a mass anti-war, farmer-labor party; to developing new forms and avenues for helping organize the progressive movement within the A. F. of L.

“11. The Party must establish iron proletarian discipline, based on ideological unanimity, clarity as to the aims of the movement, coordination of practical actions and an attitude

of clear understanding on the part of the general membership towards the aims of the Party."

We already have a high degree of political unity and firm discipline in our Party. In fact, our Party is more solidly knit and united than ever before. But as recent experience has shown, such as in the days immediately following the signing of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, this unity, to a considerable degree, while based upon Party loyalty is not always combined with sufficient *political understanding* of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the tactical line of the Party. Therefore an essential prerequisite for the further development of the monolithic unity of our Party is to strengthen the working class discipline and unity of action of our Party on the basis of strengthening our Party's ideological and political work and Marxist-Leninist educational activities.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 440

Daily Worker, September 18, 1950

WORKING CLASS AND THE WAR

By William Z. Foster

The reactionary leaders of the AFL, CIO and independent unions have committed the labor movement and the working class not only to support the Korean war, but also to the perspective of an inevitable third world war. They have identified themselves completely with the war program of American imperialism, and are trying to do the same thing for the workers in general. The labor bureaucrats have become the labor war-war of the government and the monopolists, and they are dutifully carrying out all the tasks allotted to them by the warlike imperialists.

THE PRESENT COURSE of the leadership, if uncorrected by the workers, would sentence the trade union movement of this country to the fate of the dying world capitalist system. It would drag the trade unions down to eventual ruin, in the welter of war and fascism that American imperialism is heading toward.

But if the Left forces do their duty, the labor movement will never suffer such a tragic collapse, as that of Germany, for example. Before this could happen, the masses of the workers, under the leadership of the Communists and other progressive forces, will break the power of the reactionary officialdom and reorient the movement onto a healthy basis of cooperation with the world forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS, organized and unorganized, have a very different outlook upon the war situation than do their treacherous trade union leaders. Of course, great numbers of them, caught in the web of imperialist propaganda, believe the double big-lie that the Soviet government is in a warlike offensive and that the Truman government is fighting to preserve world peace. If they did not suffer from these illusions, it would be impossible for the labor warmongers, the Greens, Murrays, Wolls, Careys, Reuthers, Dubinskys and the like, to mislead them as dangerously as they are now doing.

Therefore, it is the historic duty of the Communist Party, the Left trade union forces and the progressive elements generally, to give badly needed leadership to the betrayed working class. And this effort, if carried out intelligently, energetically and with full faith in the fighting spirit of the working class, will be bound to result successfully.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 451

Daily Worker, February 19, 1951

WE CAN SAVE OURSELVES
AN EDITORIAL

THE COMMENTS MADE by Stalin on the war danger are of special importance to the American people. He makes the point that the unwillingness of the people to be plunged into another world war has placed many obstacles in the path of those seeking war. The peace movement has frightened the men who plan war.

LET US CHECK OVER the points Stalin makes to see if he is right or wrong.

He says that the Soviet Union could not be building up the huge war machine which London and Washington claim is the cause of the war danger, and AT THE SAME TIME BE BUILDING HUGE PEACE-TIME CONSTRUCTION, and STEADILY LOWERING ITS PRICES ON CONSUMER GOODS. Isn't that a fact which we can test for ourselves?

It is up to all patriotic Americans, no matter what their creed, to rouse their neighbors, communities, trade unions, churches, etc., to urge the government to call off the war in Korea; to negotiate a settlement in the Far East and in Europe; to grant China her legal seat in the UN, and to ditch the outrageous UN resolution for spreading the war against Peoples China.

The people cannot wait for peace now. They must enforce it through their unity and aroused alertness.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 455

The Worker, April 1, 1951

THE PEOPLE DECIDE THEIR DESTINY

If the Truman Administration thought they could cow Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, by confining him to 10 months in prison, they made a big mistake. His first speech after his release proved that. Below are excerpts from his speech and that of Gus Hall who welcomed him back at a New York meeting.

By Eugene Dennis

Comrades:

For Peace, Democracy, Socialism

I also have the impression that millions of Americans have come to recognize and respect the strength brought to the world camp of peace by the new Asia, especially by liberated China.

Moreover, in spite of the lies and the slanders that poison our avenues of monopoly-controlled mass communication—the Second World Peace Congress did not escape the notice of wide sections of our people. In fact, the greater strength, unity and militance of the peace partisans now organized in the World Peace Council have been not only an inspiration to the peace forces in our country, but also have enhanced manifold the possibilities of winning the fight for world peace.

Now the welfare of our people and the national interests of the United States make it imperative that we do all in our power to help our fellow Americans catch up with their allies and friends in other sections of the world peace camp.

During the past ten months Wall Street aggressions and Hitlerite policies have sharply increased the dangers of war and fascism. But I come back to you supremely confident—as you are—in the ultimate victory of the people, of our class and our cause—the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 467

Daily Worker, October 19, 1951

**COMMUNISTS OFFER 6-POINT PROGRAM TO END KOREA WAR,
BRING WORLD PEACE**

The National Committee of the Communist Party declares that regardless of the hounding and persecutions to which the government is now subjecting its leaders, we will do everything possible in our power to join with our people to impose their ardent striving for peace upon you and our government.

The people want peace—not war, Mr. Acheson. It is the responsibility of government to heed the will of the people. Stop the war in Korea now! Negotiate all differences in the Far East—with the great Peoples Democratic Republic of China! Remove all obstructions to the seating of the genuine representatives of China in the United Nations! Conclude a Pact of Peace between the United States, England, France, China and the Soviet Union!

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 468

Daily Worker, November 7, 1951

IT IS INDESTRUCTIBLE

THE SOVIET UNION is 34 years old today.

On Nov. 7, 1917, the Russian workers and peasants, led by the immortal Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, dumped the bankers and landlords and Czarist generals. They de-

cided to run the country's industries for the people instead of for private profit.

The first word on the banner of the Russian Revolution was peace—peace, bread and land.

Today the Soviet Union is indestructible.

The work of Lenin and Stalin is immortal. The Socialist state has become the leader of a new force in modern history—the great camp of peace. This new alliance of hundreds of millions of people in China and the People's Democracies, together with the vast millions in the colonial and capitalist countries, can prevent war. This is the new achievement of the Soviet Union, the glorious vision that the people can make a reality.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 477

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

NOVEMBER, 1950

COMBAT THE WAR INCITEMENTS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION*

By Alexander Bittelman

Never since the Great October Socialist Revolution thirty-three years ago, the revolution which opened up a new epoch in the history of mankind, have the imperialist slanders and war-incitements against the Soviet Union

* Since this article was written, Comrade Bittelman, member of the Editorial Board of *Political Affairs*, and one of the national leaders of the Communist Party, was arrested, along with other leaders of the Party and other fighters for the cause of labor and peace—including Claudia Jones, Betty Gannett, and George Siskind—by the order of Attorney General McGrath, in the drive against the peace forces, the labor movement, the Negro people and the Communist Party, under the McCarran Act. At the time this issue went to press they were still held at Ellis Island.—Editor.

been carried on with such recklessness and violence. This is especially so in the United States.

The Soviet Union created by the October Revolution later saved humanity from fascist slavery in World War II and has thus made possible the victory of national liberation and of Socialism in large parts of Europe and Asia. It now stands guard over the peace of the world and is leading the fight to prevent World War III which is being organized by the imperialist and fascist camp headed by American imperialism. It stands for the peaceful co-existence and competition of the Socialist and capitalist systems. It represents the greatest hope of mankind in the struggle to save the world from the madness of atomic war.

From the foregoing it is clear that the fight for peace—against a new world war and the growing fascist danger—demands a consistent and militant struggle against Wall Street's slanders and war-incitements against the Soviet Union.

To support and defend the peace policy of the Soviet Union is to make the masses of the American people realize that the very existence of this powerful Socialist land is a source of strength to the American working class and its allies in the fight against monopoly capitalist exploitation. It is to make the American workers and all working people understand that the triumph of Socialism in the Soviet Union has created an inexhaustible treasure of experience for the revolutionary struggle to abolish exploitation, to abolish capitalism, to build a just social system, to establish true democracy. It is to remind the American masses that the Soviet Union, our great ally in World War II, was decisive in winning the victory and that this was so because the Soviet Union is a Socialist state and is led by the party of Lenin and Stalin. It is necessary finally, to demonstrate daily the major truth of our time that the path of peace, democracy, economic security and general well-being for the American people is the path of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union. The other path, the one followed by Wall Street and its agents, is the path of war,

crises and national disaster. To prove these truths to the American people, to the workers, first of all, means to defend the best national interests of the American people. This only proves once more that the *popularizing and defense of the leading role of the Soviet Union in the fight for peace is an organic part of the defense of the national interests of the American people.*

A GENERATION OF SOVIET YOUTH

By Edward Frisch

Knowing and appreciating the experiences and accomplishments of the Soviet youth give our Party the key to understanding the leading role which Soviet youth in general, and the Communist Youth League (Komsomol) in particular, is playing among the young people of the world in the struggle for peace and democracy.

REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF THE YOUTH

Young people have ever been a vital factor in the revolutionary movement in all countries. In answer to the question as to why there were so many young people in the Party, Lenin once declared:

Is it not natural for young people to predominate in our party, the party of revolution? We are the party of the future and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators and innovators are always followed most eagerly by the youth. We are a party of self-sacrificing struggle against the rotten old system, and the youth are always the first in self-sacrificing struggles.

LENIN STRESSED THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH FOR THE PARTY

In a 1905 letter, Lenin wrote:

The youth will decide the issue of the whole struggle, the student youth, and still more the working-class youth. . . . Do not fear their lack of training, do not tremble at their inexperience and lack of development. If you are unable to

organize and stimulate them to action, they will turn to the Mensheviks and the Gaps, and this inexperience of theirs will cause five times more damage. . . . Only you must unfailingly organize, organize and organize *hundreds* of circles. . . . *Either you create new, young, fresh, energetic, militant organizations everywhere for revolutionary Social-Democratic work of all sorts and kinds, and among all strata, or you will perish, enveloped in the glory of "committee" bureaucrats.* (My emphasis.—E.F.)

Lenin's admonition to the Party organization that it develop youth work under all conditions, and with a bold and variegated mass approach, gave the line for the Party's attitude toward youth work throughout its whole existence.

SOVIET YOUTH FACE A SECURE FUTURE

The difference in the prospect of young workers under Socialism and that of young workers under capitalism, as in the United States, makes clear the real meaning of Socialism for young people. The great fear and threat of unemployment to young workers in this country does not exist for Soviet youth. At the present time, young workers in the United States face a perspective of depression and unemployment, or imperialist war; these are the two threats that hang over the young workers of the United States. When unemployment hits, it is the young workers, and particularly the Negro youth and young women, who are hit hardest.

Soviet youth, on the other hand, are guaranteed the right to work by the Stalin Constitution.

The Soviet youth, as the whole Soviet people, know that no one can only interfere with, and set back, their steady progress along the historic road of gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. They are the builders of Communism, the youth of Lenin and Stalin. They are the youth of the land which heads the world's peace camp. It is this which brings them the love and admiration of the democratic

youth the world over and recognition of their leading role in the world youth's struggle for peace and democracy.

Solidarity with the land of Socialism, and appreciation of its leading role in the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism, thus becomes the touchstone of true internationalism among the young people of all countries; for it is this international bond between the youth who have already established Socialism, those youth who are building it now, and those youth, as in our own country, who still have the task of bringing Socialism about, that is the guarantee of a Socialist world in the future. Without this international bond there is a weak link in the chain of resistance against imperialist aggression. It is particularly important here, in the center of world imperialism to bring this understanding to the young people who are studying Marxism-Leninism, to our Party which helps to guide these youth; and to the masses of American youth.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 479

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

MARCH, 1951

WM. Z. FOSTER—FOREMOST LEADER OF OUR PARTY

A Tribute by the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.

William Z. Foster is 70 years of age. The seventieth birthday of the foremost leader and teacher of our Party is an event of major significance for the entire working class, for all America's exploited and oppressed, for the Negro people, for all who strive for peace and democracy, for social progress, for a better world. This seventieth birthday is for our Party an occasion of joyous celebration. For on this day we render homage to our beloved Comrade and leader, William Z. Foster, that great Communist stalwart whose half-century of battle-years have been devoted militantly and clear-sightedly to the noble cause of the working class, to the cause of its emancipation.

TRUMAN'S "STATE OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY"

By William Z. Foster

[A communication to Comrade Gus Hall, National Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; under date of January 20, 1951.—Ed.]

Dear Gus:

The proclamation of the state of national emergency flows basically out of the increasing difficulties and desperation in which American imperialism finds itself, out of the growing bankruptcy of United States foreign policy. It is, therefore, fundamentally a manifestation of American imperialism's political weakness, not of its strength.

The proclamation of the state of national emergency is, above all, a device for speeding up the drive toward war. It is a highly provocative semi-mobilization of the armed forces of the United States, a further stage in the warlike program of American imperialism; the next planned stage of which would be full mobilization and outright war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

We must understand clearly, in fighting for peace and the people's general welfare, that the proclaimed state of national emergency is designed to hamper and make more difficult every phase of this peace struggle.

The question of the national emergency constitutes another serious test of our Marxist-Leninist ability, both to work out our theoretical analysis of it, and to develop effective policies for peace, in the situation set up by the President's arbitrary proclamation.

Comradely yours,

William Z. Foster

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 480

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

APRIL, 1951

THE STALIN INTERVIEW—A BLOW AT THE WARMONGERS

By Gus Hall.

NO LONG-TERM CURE FOR CAPITALISM

At the conclusion of his interview, Stalin states the central, all-dominating question that the peace-loving peoples of the world must deeply ponder over:

Peace will be preserved and consolidate if the peoples will take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in enmeshing the masses of the people in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war.

That is why a widespread campaign for the maintenance of peace, as a means of exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers, is now of primary importance.

We can have full confidence that peace can be preserved; but that confidence is based on the full realization that this is possible today only if the forces for peace continue to grow, if they consolidate their strength and broaden their ranks.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 488

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

DECEMBER, 1951

STALIN ON THE WAR DANGER AND THE POSSIBILITY OF AVERTING IT

By I. A. Seleznev

Note: This article has been translated for *Political Affairs* from the Soviet philosophical magazine, *Voprosi Filosofii* (No. 4, 1951). Pressure of space required a considerable condensation of the text.

Analyzing the postwar international situation, Comrade Stalin declared:

The defeat and liquidation of the principal centers of fascism and world aggression have led to profound changes in the political life of the world's peoples, to a wide upsurge of the democratic movement among the peoples. Taught by the experience of the war, the masses of the people have understood that the fate of the nations must not be entrusted to reactionary governments, which pursue narrow-caste and selfish, anti-people, aims. Because of this, the peoples, unwilling to live any longer in the old way, are taking the fate of their states into their own hands, are establishing democratic regimes and are carrying on an active struggle against the forces of reaction, against the incendiaries of a new war. The peoples of the world do not want a repetition of the afflictions of war. They are fighting in earnest for the enforcement of peace and security.*

THE WORLD-WIDE PEACE MOVEMENT

In the first stage of the movement of the partisans of peace it was necessary to work out a platform, the struggle for the realization of which could unite all peoples, all sections of the laboring masses, regardless of ethnic origin and nationality, of political views and religious convictions. Such a common platform for the struggle for peace was formulated in the Appeal adopted at the Stockholm meeting of the Permanent Committee, which called for the outlawing of atomic weapons and condemning as a war criminal the government which would first resort to such weapons. To carry this measure into effect, it was decided to organize a world-wide petition campaign. This roused all sections

* Order of the Minister of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R., of May 1, 1946, published in *Pravda*, May 1, 1946.

of the population throughout the world. Within a short time the Stockholm appeal was signed by more than 500 million people. The campaign for the collection of signatures to the Stockholm resolution resulted, among other things, in an expanded base for the movement of the partisans of peace.

CONCLUSION

One of the most important conditions for the prevention of a new world war and securing the preservation of peace is enhancement of the power of the Soviet Union which heads the mighty front of the fighters for peace, the multiplication of its economic successes and the strengthening of its defensive capacity. In World War II the Soviet people, displaying miracles of heroism, courage and steadfastness in the struggle against fascist Germany and imperialist Japan, smashed with its armed forces the shock forces of international imperialism and aggression, thereby saving mankind from fascist enslavement. In the present conditions, when over mankind is again suspended the danger of a new world war and aggression by the imperialists of the United States, the eyes of all peace-loving people are turned towards the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace and security for all peoples.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 489

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

JANUARY, 1952

LENIN'S TEACHINGS AND THE LIBERATION OF HUMANITY

By Alexander Bittelman

Lenin's teachings are triumphing because they are true. The teachings of Lenin, further, developed by Stalin, demonstrate their creativeness and cogency in all the great progressive struggles of our day and epoch. Lenin's teachings inspire the actions of the vanguard fighters for peace and democracy. Peoples fighting for equal rights and national independence find their advanced fighters and leaders guided by the teachings of Lenin, so brilliantly continued and further developed by Stalin. And the magnificent historic fight of our epoch—the fight for Socialism, for Communism—whose grandeur overshadows all of the great previous achievements of mankind, crowning them with the realization of the noblest aspirations and dreams of the human race,—this historic fight, we are proud to say, is guided by the teachings of Lenin and of his great continuer Stalin. It is led by parties of Marxism-Leninism, by Communist and Workers Parties.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 493
Judgment and Commitment

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK DIVISION

United States of America v. Eugene Dennis, also known as Francis X. Waldron, Jr.

No. C128/87

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant has been convicted upon his plea of ² not guilty and a verdict of guilty by a jury of the offense of unlawfully, wilfully & knowingly conspiring to organize as the Communist Party of the U.S. of America a society, group and assembly of persons who teach & advocate the overthrow & destruction of the Government of the U.S. by force and violence, & knowingly & wilfully to

² Insert (1) "guilty," (2) "not guilty, and a verdict of guilty," (3) "not guilty, and a finding of guilty," or (4) "nolo contendere," as the case may be.

advocate and teach the duty and necessity of so overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States.
T. 18 Sec 11 & 13 USC

as charged³

and the court having asked the defendant whether he had anything to say why judgment should not be pronounced, and no sufficient cause to the contrary being shown or appearing to the Court,

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is guilty as charged and convicted.

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is hereby committed to the custody of the Attorney General or his authorized representative for imprisonment for a period of ⁴ FIVE YEARS and fined \$10,000. Defendant to stand committed until fine is paid or he is otherwise discharged by due course of law.

IT IS ORDERED that the Clerk deliver a certified copy of this judgment and commitment to the United States Marshal or other qualified officer and that the copy serve as the commitment of the defendant.

[Signature illegible]

United States District Judge.

Judgment and Commitment

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK DIVISION

United States of America v. John B. Williamson

No. C128/87

³ Insert "in count(s) number" if required. ⁴ Enter (1) sentence or sentences, specifying counts if any; (2) whether sentences are to run concurrently or consecutively and, if consecutively, when each term is to begin with reference to termination of preceding term or to any other outstanding or unserved sentence; (3) whether defendant is to be further imprisoned until payment of the fine or fine and costs, or until he is otherwise discharged as provided by law.

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant has been convicted upon his plea of ² not guilty and a verdict of guilty by a jury of the offense of unlawfully, wilfully & knowingly conspiring to organize as the Communist Party of the U.S. of America a society, group and assembly of persons who teach & advocate the overthrow & destruction of the Government of the U.S. by force and violence, & knowingly & wilfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of so overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States, T. 18 Sec 11 & 13 USC

as charged ³

and the court having asked the defendant whether he has anything to say why judgment should not be pronounced, and no sufficient cause to the contrary being shown or appearing to the Court,

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is guilty as charged and convicted.

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is hereby committed to the custody of the Attorney General or his authorized representative for imprisonment for a period of ⁴ FIVE YEARS and fined \$10,000. Defendant to stand committed until fine is paid or he is otherwise discharged by due course of law.

IT IS ORDERED that the Clerk deliver a certified copy of this judgment and commitment to the United States Marshal or other qualified officer and that the copy serve as the commitment of the defendant.

[Signature illegible]

United States District Judge.

² Insert (1) "guilty," (2) "not guilty, and a verdict of guilty," (3) "not guilty, and a finding of guilty," or (4) "nolo contendere," as the case may be. ³ Insert "in count(s) number" if required. ⁴ Enter (1) sentence or sentences, specifying counts if any; (2) whether sentences are to run concurrently or consecutively and, if consecutively, when each term is to begin with reference to termination of preceding term or to any other outstanding or unserved sentence; (3) whether defendant is to be further imprisoned until payment of the fine or fine and costs, or until he is otherwise discharged as provided by law.

Judgment and Commitment

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK DIVISION

United States of America v. Jacob Stachel

No. C128/87

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant has been convicted upon his plea of ² not guilty and a verdict of guilty by a jury of the offense of unlawfully, wilfully & knowingly conspiring to organize as the Communist Party of the U.S. of America a society, group and assembly of persons who teach & advocate the overthrow & destruction of the Government of the U.S. by force and violence, & knowingly & wilfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of so overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States. T. 18 Sec/11 & 13 USC

as charged ³

and the court having asked the defendant whether he has anything to say why judgment should not be pronounced, and no sufficient cause to the contrary being shown or appearing to the Court,

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is guilty as charged and convicted.

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is hereby committed to the custody of the Attorney General or his authorized representative for imprisonment for a period of ⁴ FIVE YEARS and fined \$10,000. Defendant to stand committed until fine is paid or he is otherwise discharged by due course of law.

² Insert (1) "guilty," (2) "not guilty, and a verdict of guilty," (3) "not guilty, and a finding of guilty," or (4) "nolo contendere," as the case may be. ³ Insert "in count(s) number" if required. ⁴ Enter (1) sentence or sentences, specifying counts if any; (2) whether sentences are to run concurrently or consecutively and, if consecutively, when each term is to begin with reference to termination of preceding term or to any other outstanding or unserved sentence; (3) whether defendant is to be further imprisoned until payment of the fine or fine and costs, or until he is otherwise discharged as provided by law.

It Is ORDERED that the Clerk deliver a certified copy of this judgment and commitment to the United States Marshal or other qualified officer and that the copy serve as the commitment of the defendant.

[Signature illegible]
United States District Judge.

Judgment and Commitment

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK DIVISION

United States of America v. Robert G. Thompson

No. C128/87

It Is ADJUDGED that the defendant has been convicted upon his plea of ² not guilty and a verdict of guilty by a jury of the offense of unlawfully, wilfully & knowingly conspiring to organize as the Communist Party of the U.S. of America a society, group and assembly of persons who teach & advocate the overthrow & destruction of the Government of the U.S. by force and violence, & knowingly & wilfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of so overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States. T. 18 Sec 11 & 13 USC

as charged ³

and the court having asked the defendant whether he has anything to say why judgment should not be pronounced, and no sufficient cause to the contrary being shown or appearing to the Court,

² Insert (1) "guilty," (2) "not guilty, and a verdict of guilty," (3) "not guilty, and a finding of guilty," or (4) "nolo contendere," as the case may be. ³ Insert "in count(s) number" if required.

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is guilty as charged and convicted.

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is hereby committed to the custody of the Attorney General or his authorized representative for imprisonment for a period of ⁴ THREE YEARS and fined \$10,000. Defendant to stand committed until fine is paid or he is otherwise discharged by due course of law.

IT IS ORDERED that the Clerk deliver a certified copy of this judgment and commitment to the United States Marshal or other qualified officer and that the copy serve as the commitment of the defendant.

[Signature illegible]
United States District Judge.

Judgment and Commitment

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK DIVISION

United States of America v. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

No. C128/8

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant has been convicted upon his plea of ² not guilty and a verdict of guilty by a jury of the offense of unlawfully, wilfully & knowingly conspiring to organize as the Communist Party of the U.S. of America a society, group and assembly of persons who teach

⁴ Enter (1) sentence or sentences, specifying counts if any; (2) whether sentences are to run concurrently or consecutively and, if consecutively, when each term is to begin with reference to termination of preceding term or to any other outstanding or unserved sentence; (3) whether defendant is to be further imprisoned until payment of the fine or fine and costs, or until he is otherwise discharged as provided by law.

² Insert (1) "guilty," (2) "not guilty, and a verdict of guilty," (3) "not guilty, and a finding of guilty," or (4) "nolo contendere," as the case may be.

& advocate the overthrow & destruction of the Government of the U.S. by force and violence, & knowingly & wilfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of so overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States. T. 18 Sec 11 & 13 USC

as charged ³

and the court having asked the defendant whether he has anything to say why judgment should not be pronounced, and no sufficient cause to the contrary being shown or appearing to the Court,

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is guilty as charged and convicted.

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is hereby committed to the custody of the Attorney General or his authorized representative for imprisonment for a period of ⁴ FIVE YEARS and fined \$10,000. Defendant to stand committed until fine is paid or he is otherwise discharged by due course of law.

IT IS ORDERED that the Clerk deliver a certified copy of this judgment and commitment to the United States Marshal or other qualified officer and that the copy serve as the commitment of the defendant.

[Signature illegible]

United States District Judge.

³ Insert "in count(s) number" if required. ⁴ Enter (1) sentence or sentences, specifying counts if any; (2) whether sentences are to run concurrently or consecutively and, if consecutively, when each term is to begin with reference to termination of preceding term or to any other outstanding or unserved sentence; (3) whether defendant is to be further imprisoned until payment of the fine or fine and costs, or until he is otherwise discharged as provided by law.

Judgment and Commitment

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK DIVISION

United States of America v. Henry Winston

No. C128/87

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant has been convicted upon his plea of ² not guilty and a verdict of guilty by a jury of the offense of unlawfully, wilfully & knowingly conspiring to organize as the Communist Party of the U.S. of America a society, group and assembly of persons who teach & advocate the overthrow & destruction of the Government of the U.S. by force and violence, & knowingly & wilfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of so overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States. T. 18 Sec 11 & 13 USC

as charged ³

and the court having asked the defendant whether he has anything to say why judgment should not be pronounced, and no sufficient cause to the contrary being shown or appearing to the Court,

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is guilty as charged and convicted.

IT IS ADJUDGED that the defendant is hereby committed to the custody of the Attorney General or his authorized representative for imprisonment for a period of ⁴ FIVE YEARS and fined \$10,000. Defendant to stand committed until fine is paid or he is otherwise discharged by due course of law.

IT IS ORDERED that the Clerk deliver a certified copy of this judgment and commitment to the United States

² Insert (1) "guilty," (2) "not guilty, and a verdict of guilty," (3) "not guilty, and a finding of guilty," or (4) "nolo contendere," as the case may be. ³ Insert "in count(s) number" if required. ⁴ Enter (1) sentence or sentences, specifying counts if any; (2) whether sentences are to run concurrently or consecutively and, if consecutively, when each term is to begin with reference to termination of preceding term or to any other outstanding or unserved sentence; (3) whether defendant is to be further imprisoned until payment of the fine or fine and costs, or until he is otherwise discharged as provided by law.